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ABSTRACT

The population of the Republic of the Philippines is largely composed of common racial stock except for a small minority of ethnic Chinese. Ethnic differences are largely on the basis of language and religion. Over 90 percent of the people are Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, approximately 5 percent are Muslims, and the remainder adhere to the indigenous beliefs of the islands. The Chinese resist integration, maintain their own schools, and have been only marginally assimilated. Communists in the Phillipines, largely scholars or domestic Chinese, are constantly working toward an overthrow of the government. The Muslims are waging a guerrilla war with the objective of seceding from the Republic of the Phillipines. Under these circumstances, the chances for education to successfully serve as an instrument of integration are rather slim. (Author/JM)

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ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

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(ABSTRACT)

The Republic of the Philippines is an island nation 600 miles southeast of mainland Asia Spain conquered it in 1565 and then ceded it to the United States of America in 1898 as a sequel to defeat in the Spanish-American war. The Filipinos mounted an abortive revolution for independence against the Spaniards in 1896. The Republic of the Philippines came into existence in 1946 by agreement with the United States Government.

The population of the Philippines is estimated at 44 million (1976), and, except for a small minority of ethnic Chinese, is composed of common racial stock. Ethnic differences exist largely on the basis of language and religion. Over 90 percent of the people are Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, approximately 5 percent Muslims, and the remainder pagans adhering to the indigenous beliefs. The relations between the Christian majority and the three minority groups - Muslim Filipinos, small pagan groups of the interior, and the ethnic Chinese - have been marred by conflicts.

The pagan groups have, by and large, been assimilated into the Christians in the north and the Muslims in the south. The assimilation of the ethnic Chinese into the Filipino society has been marginal. They resist integration and strive to maintain their identity through their own organizations and school system. The communist element in the

Philippines, drawing its membership mostly from the academic circles of the country and the domestic Chinese population, is engaged in ceaseless insurgency to overthrow the government. The Chinese and the communists of the Philippines undoubtedly find the emergence of the Peoples Republic of China a source of comfort, encouragement, and material support. The Muslims in the south are contemptuous of the Christian Filipinos, are suspicious of their education, and are determined to preserve their own religion and culture. They are waging a guerilla war, with the support of the Islamic countries of the world, with the objective of seceding from the Republic of the Philippines. Under these circumstances, whether education would be able to serve as an instrument for integrating the Chinese and the Muslim minorities into the Filipino society is highly speculative.

ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago consisting of about 7,100 islands situated approximately 600 miles southeast of mainland Asia. The country extends over 1,000 miles from north to south and about 400 miles from east to west, with a total land area of about 115,830 square miles. Only 154 of the islands exceed five square miles in area each. The largest two, Luzon in the north and Mindanao in the south, comprise about 65 percent of the total area. The topography is mostly mountainous with valleys and plains in the interior and narrow coastal plains. The climate is tropical, and generally hot and humid conditions prevail the year round.

The Philippines became independent in 1946 after nearly four centuries of colonial rule, first by Spain from 1565 to 1898, and then by the United States when Spain ceded the islands as a sequel to defeat in the Spanish-American War. The establishment of the Spanish authority in the sixteenth century was relatively easy among the people of the north but was fiercely resisted by the Muslim Filipinos in the south. The significant impact of the Spanish rule in the Philippines has been the spread of Roman Catholicism and the containment of Islam in the south.

Negrito, Proto-Malay, and Malay peoples were the principal contributors to the population of the Philippine archipelago. The Negritos probably migrated some 30,000 years ago during the last glacial period. Later migrations took place over several thousand years before and after the beginning of the Christian Era. Trade relations between the

Philippines and both mainland Asia and the islands to the south started early in the Christian Era. Hindus were the earliest traders, followed by Indonesians and Arabs. The Chinese and the Japanese established trade links by the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, respectively.

About 700 islands are inhabited, but Luzon and Visayan Islands contain nearly 80 percent of the population. The population is concentrated in the interior plains and valleys and the coastal plains. The population of the Philippines is estimated at about 44 million (1976) and has been growing rapidly. Except for a small minority of ethnic Chinese, the population is composed of common racial stock. Ethnic differences exist largely on the basis of language and religion. Attempts to Christianize the Filipinos began in 1565. By that time, Muslim influence was firmly established in the southern islands. Over 90 percent of the people are Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, approximately 5 percent Muslims, and the remainder pagans adhering to the indigenous beliefs. The relations between the Christian majority and the three minority groups - Muslim Filipinos, small pagan groups of the interior, and the ethnic Chinese - have been marred by conflicts.

The Muslim Filipinos (Moros) and the ethnic Chinese are numerically small but politically and commercially important. The Muslims are principally located in the southern islands of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. The unassimilated Chinese live almost entirely in the major urban centers of the country. Only the latter group is racially distinct from other Filipinos and speaks a language unrelated to the Philippine languages.

Relatively cut off from the mainstream of the national life are a variety of pagan tribes known collectively as Igorots. They inhabit

the rugged mountainous interior regions of Luzon and Mindanao as well as other inaccessible parts of the country. Also, scattered in the islands are tiny remnants of Negrito tribes, the earliest known inhabitants of the archipelago. These tribal people are in the process of gradual integration into the main society.[1]

Although the population is composed of a number of distinct linguistic groups (at least eight major ones), and although there are important regional differences, the Philippines is a nation without serious communal cleavages along ethnic, economic, or religious lines, with the exception of small Muslim and Chinese minorities. The country is united by a number of common experiences, including more than 300 years of Spanish rule and another fifty years of American control. The overwhelming majority are Roman Catholic. Language barriers are to a great extent overcome by a knowledge of English or Pilipino, the national language. A central government and a system of public education have tended to link the island nation and to develop a sense of nationhood.

English, Pilipino, and Spanish are official languages. English is the medium of instruction in most educational institutions, is usually the language of formal communication in government, business, and other establishments, and is spoken by roughly 45 percent of the population. Pilipino, a form of Tagalog, is spoken by about 55 percent of the population and is gaining prominence and prestige. About 3 percent of the people possess knowledge of Spanish, which lost its eminence after American control of the country.

Ethnic Groups

The Lowland Christians

The principal source of cultural differentiation among the vast majority of Filipinos is language rather than race, religion, social, or economic factors. Ninety percent of all Filipinos are Christians - virtually all of them Roman Catholic - and live on lowland coasts and in valleys. They form eight distinct linguistic groups, are often unable to communicate with another, yet constitute a culturally homogeneous society, with a long history of harmonious relations and a strong sense of national identity. They have a common racial extraction, culture, history, religion, and are collectively known as the Lowland Christians.

Each linguistic group has a recognized core region, although there are a fair degree of mixed residential patterns and intergroup marriages, and members of some groups are found all over the country, especially in urban areas. The existence of two lingua francas, Pilipino and English, has facilitated intergroup communication. The Lowland Christian groups include the following: Tagalogs, Cebuanos, Ilokanos, Ilongos, Bikolanos, Waray-Waray, Pampangans, and Pangasinans. In addition to the eight major Christian groups, there are twelve minor groups. They generally inhabit the isolated territories - small islands or coastal strips separated from the interior by mountains.

The Interior Pagan Groups

The interior pagan groups are diverse among themselves and culturally different from other ethnic groups. Although they may be considered as interesting survivors of prehistoric Philippine cultures, the numerous small communities of pagan peoples that inhabit isolated regions are of little social, political, economic, or cultural

consequence to the mainstream of the society. The groups inhabiting the mountainous regions of northern Luzon are generally called Igorots. Similarly, the interior pagans of Mindanao are sometimes lumped together under the name of Manobos. The pagan groups possess great variation in culture, degree of advancement, and integration with the society.

Western beliefs, institutions, and ways of life are increasingly being accepted by most Igorot people through a generally selective process. The Government seeks to integrate them by introducing educational, economic, and health facilities, rather than by direct imposition of drastic changes. Christian Filipinos, in search of the rich natural resources of the mountainous interior, often regard Igorots as savages, and engage in conflicts with them. Thus, relations between Christian Filipinos and Igorots have been frequently violent.

Interior pagan groups in Mindanao have likewise been exploited and harassed by both Christians and Muslims. While many tribal groups have moved further into the interior to avoid hostile contacts with the Christians and Muslims, others have become more acculturated. Those in northern Mindanao have accepted the Christian culture, whereas those in southern Mindanao and Palawan, the Muslim culture.

The Chinese

Records show that the Chinese established trade links with the Philippines during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and some Chinese merchants and craftsmen settled there. During the early period of the Spanish rule, the Chinese immigration was welcomed because of their skills, energy, and capital resources, and gradually they formed the commercial and artisan classes of the country.[2] The Spaniards,however, soon became alarmed by and suspicious of the growing economic power and increasing

population of the Chinese, and took measures to curb their dominance. Throughout their rule, the Spaniards remained ambivalent toward the Chinese, and their policy vacillated between encouragement and repression. On the one hand, they viewed their control of trade and commerce as a menace, on the other, they needed the services they performed.

After 1850, the Spaniards liberalized the immigration policy, and, as a consequence, the Chinese population increased from 8,000 in 1850 to 100,000 in 1885. During this period, the Chinese scattered all over the country and came in contact with the Filipinos. Because of their monopoly of trade and commerce, they incurred the wrath of the natives.

During the period of American control, the policy toward the Chinese was further liberalized, and almost all business, domestic and foreign, came to be placed in their hands. By the end of the American control, there was widespread hatred and hostility toward the Chinese in the country. The Filipinos generally came to regard the Chinese to be guilty of unethical business practices, charging exhorbitant interest rates, monopolizing trade, controlling politics through bribery, syphoning capital from the country, and managing to circumvent the law. Since independence, the Philippine Government, out of nationalistic fervor, has enacted laws to control the traditional Chinese economic dominance. These actions have tended to exacerbate the already present cultural differences, social tensions, and mutual exclusiveness.

Anti-Chinese attitudes are held by most Filipinos on the belief that this minority controls the economy, engages in illegal activities, is clannish, and owes its allegiance elsewhere.[3] The Chinese seek to protect themselves from the discriminatory actions of the Government

and the natives through the formation of their exclusive segregated organizations. Also, they strive to perpetuate their language and culture by educating their children in their own schools. Thus, through business organizations, extended family ties, fraternal associations, and their own schools, the Chinese, by and large, remain a close-knit group resistant to assimilation into the Filipino culture, although many have become part of the Filipino society.[4]

Anti-Chinese prejudice is also based upon the Filipino perception of the Chinese as being associated with the communistic subversive activities in the Philippines.[5] There has been at all times a large volume of illegal Chinese immigration into the country. The Filipino apprehension is heightened not only by the continuing illegal Chinese immigration, but also by its political implication of revolution instigated by the Chinese communists.[6] Defiance directed against the Government by the Chinese youths in concert with the pro-Peking radical element in the Philippine academic circles was at least partly responsible for the proclamation of the martial law in 1972.[7]

Marriages between the two groups, mostly involving Chinese men and Filipino women, have been frequent throughout the long history of Chinese presence in the Philippines. However, lately, there has surfaced resentment toward and disapproval of such a practice, at least among the more nationalistic Filipinos. When a Filipina marries a Chinese, she and her family are presumed to have done so for monetary considerations, and they become objects of derision. As most of the political and economic advantages resulting from the matrimonial alliance have now been lost, the number of Chinese-Filipino marriages is on the decline. Unmixed and unassimilated Chinese have always had a tenuous position in the

society, have experienced considerable difficulty in regard to citizenship, and are frequently the targets of prejudice, discrimination, and resentment. The Chinese mestizos - offspring of Chinese-Filipino marriage - who have accepted the Filipino culture have been generally accepted into the society. But it is becoming increasingly common to use the same opprobrious terms for the Chinese mestizos as for the ethnic Chinese.[8]

Chinese men usually prefer to marry Chinese women. However, because of the imbalance in sex-ratio in the past, inter-racial marriages have been extensive, a long history of pogroms and discrimination notwithstanding. The Chinese community fully accepts the half-Chinese offspring provided that the mestizos have an orientation into the Chinese culture. During the Spanish colonial period, when restrictions were placed upon the Chinese, it was difficult for the Chinese community to Sinicize the mestizo children, who therefore invariably adopted the language and culture of their Filipino mothers. With the beginning of the American control and removal of the restrictions, the Chinese wasted no time in establishing their schools. Now, in many Chinese schools the majority of the students are mestizos who are systematically exposed to the Chinese culture and are readily accepted by the Chinese community. They are, however, ostracized by the Filipinos and subjected to the same political, economic, and social restrictions as the ethnic Chinese.[9]

In the Philippines, all Chinese mestizos do not necessarily owe alligiance to the Chinese community. In fact, some of its bitter enemies as well as staunch supporters have hailed from the mestizo segment of the society. The mestizo population, with Chinese or Spanish ancestry, has produced some of the great heroes, political leaders, and

literary figures of the country. Members of this group still dominate politics, business, finance, arts and sciences, education, literature, civil service, and the professions. The elite mestizos of both Chinese and Hispanic extraction have extensively intermarried. These Filipinized mestizos are the fiercest rivals of the ethnic Chinese and their Sinicized mestizo allies.[10]

There are about 300,000 Filipinos of Chinese descent and another 300,000 Chinese who have not yet taken Philippine citizenship.[11] In 1975, President Marcos relaxed the requirements for citizenship.[12] Yet, not very many applied for it. They feel that citizenship provides them with hardly any advantage and that it does nothing to reduce the general suspicion with which they are looked upon by the Government and the natives.[13] They complain that the Government treats the naturalized citizens as foreigners and strips the Chinese Filipinos of citizenship and deports them if they are found involved in the slightest infraction of the law.[14]

The Chinese have equally strong antipathy toward the Filipinos, which in part stems from their traditional ethnocentrism and in part is a reaction to the Filipino anti-Chinese sentiment. They exalt their descent from the Chinese lineage and disparage the Filipino culture. In return, the Filipinos discount the Chinese claim of superiority and reject their culture. The Chinese maintain social seclusion from the Filipinos and strive to minimize all social contacts with them. They shield their women from coming into contact with the Filipinos. Their desire for social segregation partly explains the popularity of the separate Chinese schools in which the number of girls is larger than that of boys. The Filipinos likewise maintain social distance from the Chinese.

In order to encourage the Chinese to seek assimilation into the Filipino society and to curb their economic dominance, numerous legal measures have been enacted. The Chinese view them as needless restrictions designed to harass them. They contend that Filipino politicians and administrators deliberately contirve circumstances that make bribery and extortion inevitable. They hold the Philippine Government in low esteem, if not contempt, and consider the Filipino political system as possessing predilection for venality. The consequence is that the laws affecting the Chinese are seldom enforced rigorously.[15] There is little in the history or in the present state that portends cooperation and compromise in the Chinese-Filipino relations. The Chinese schools have contributed in no small measure to the continuation of the schism between the two cultural groups.[16]

The Filipino anti-Chinese feelings over the centuries are, to a large extent, the result of the policies pursued by the Spaniards and the Americans during their rule of the country. The ameliorative measures taken by the Philippine Government have been generally restrictive of the Chinese activities. Legislation limiting foreign commercial enterprises, aimed primarily at the Chinese, has been enacted, and pressures to increase restrictions continue. Even though Chinese domination of the domestic trade has waned, mistrust of the Chinese is pervasive, and the general stereotype of clever and unscrupulous Chinese merchants persists.[17] The Government wants to integrate the Chinese into the society.[18] Since the declaration of the martial law in 1972, efforts have been made to Filipinize the Chinese schools in the country.[19]

The Muslim Filipinos (Moros)

Islam was introduced into the Philippines some two hundred years prior to Christianity, often with armed force. Arab traders and proselytizers from Malay Peninsula and Indonesian Islands brought it to the Sulu Islands about the middle of the fourteenth century. From there it spread to Mindanao, and it reached the Manila area by 1565 when it was intercepted by the Spaniards and repulsed to the south, where it remains concentrated to-date, covering about one-third of the country.

By the time the Spaniards started colonizing the Philippines and converting the people to Christianity, most inhabitants of the southern part had already adopted Islam. Although the Spaniards found it comparatively easy to colonize and proselytize the rest of the Philippines, the Muslims in the south presented a stiff, well-organized resistance. The so-called Moro wars between the Spaniards and Muslim Filipinos lasted for more than 300 years. The Muslims remained opposed to Christianization as well as to the Spanish colonization.[20]

During the United States control of the Philippines, the Americans fared hardly better than the Spaniards in subduing the Muslims. Since the Muslims recognized the intentions of the Americans as not very different from those of the Spaniards, they again offered fierce resistance. The American armed forces finally ended organized Muslim opposition by 1915. In the peace treaty, the Muslims were guaranteed freedom of religion. The Americans tried to lay the groundwork for civilian administration and followed the policy of assimilating the Muslims into the Filipino society. The Christian Filipinos moved in large numbers into the south under the United States protection for integration. This, however, only reinforced Muslim fears of American colonization. With the independence

of the country, the Muslim hostility toward the Filipinos became more intense.

Muslims in the southern Philippines refer to themselves as the Bangsa Moro (Moro nation), and do not consider themselves citizens of the Republic of the Philippines. They identify themselves with the international Islamic fraternity and dissociate from the country's Christian majority. Whether through armed conflict or peaceful negotiations, they strive to secede to live by their own codes of social, economic, religious, and political ethics. The Muslim feeling of being a separate people has persisted throughout the history. They take pride in the fact that they have successfully resisted the attempts of subjugation, colonization, and Christianization by the Spaniards, pacification, colonization, and incorporation into the body politic by the Americans, and assimilation and integration by the Governments of the Commonwealth and the Republic of the Philippines.[21]

The Muslim Filipinos constitute the single most important exception to the general cultural homogeneity of the populace. Racially and linguistically, they are indistinguishable from the rest of the Filipinos, but their religion and way of life make them a culturally different group. They are divided into a number of subgroups in terms of linguistic differences and religious practices. In fact, there is a greater cultural heterogeneity among the Muslim than among the Christian Filipinos. But they present a front of solidarity against the Christians to protect their religion and culture.

The enmity between the Christian and Muslim Filipinos is the most serious problem in intergroup relations. It had its beginning in the Spaniards' mobilization of the natives to augment their forces to

fight against the Muslims. The Muslims interpreted the participation of the Christian Filipinos, although forced, as an act of hostility, which aroused their hatred, resentment, and suspicion. Both groups have carried out destructive and often brutal attacks on each other's settlements for centuries. To the Muslims, the Christians appear to be a force bent upon destroying their religion and their identity. To the Christians, the Muslims represent an alien group inimical to their society. The Christians consider the Muslims backward and inferior; the Muslims regard the Christians i idels, worthy of contempt. The militant Muslim minority has expressed its hostility through ceaseless insurgency, insurrection, and separatist movement. In the recent decades, attempts by Christians to settle in the predominantly Muslim areas have accentuated the traditional animosity.[22]

With the beginning of the Mindanao independence movement in 1968, the Muslim Filipino drive for secession became a serious challenge to the Government. When President Marcos declared martial law in 1972, the Moro National Liberation Front, with the active support of other Muslim countries, started rebellion with a full-scale guerilla war.[23] By 1975, over 100,000 Government troops and 20,000 rebels were engaged in warfare which displaced an estimated 1.5 million people in the south and cost the lives of several thousand civilians and soldiers on both the sides.[24] Under international pressure, a cease-fire was arranged in 1976, which only collapsed in mid-1977.[25] Because of the moral and material support of the whole Islamic world to the Muslims of the Philippines, neither weapons nor diplomacy have so far succeeded in halting the Moro National Liberation Front's campaign for establishing a separate state in the south with its own army and administration.[26]

In an effort to promote Christian-Muslim harmony, the Government has initiated several programs including Commission on National Integration, Mindanao State University, Mindanao Development Authority, and Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao and Sulu. However, these have been largely ineffective. With the spread of fighting in the remote areas, the hope for a peaceful settlement in the southern Philippines appears to be as elusive as ever.[27]

Education

Spanish colonial policies created the typical dual system of education, one for the Filipino youths and the other for the children of resident Spaniards. Education for the Filipinos was designed to convert them to Catholicism. Schools for them, known as catechism schools, were started to provide instruction in Christian doctrine, reading, and writing. Some also included in their program teaching of Spanish, arithmetic, and various handicrafts. Most of them were small, with an enrolment of about twenty or thirty boys, and were located in few places. Therefore, almost until the early years of the seventeenth century, educational opportunity was not available to the vast majority of Filipinos. However, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholicism and the catechism schools spread throughout the country, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century almost every Philippine town had its own school. The catechism schools were fairly popoular until the early part of the nineteenth century, but during its latter part, the later established private elementary schools with emphasis on secular education gained preference.

The Spaniards established a complete education system on the Spanish model, from primary to university level, for their own youths.

Nonetheless, it was possible for some Filipinos to benefit from it and their enrolment increased substantially in the institutions of higher education.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Filipinos established private elementary schools which were an imitation of the catechism schools. Later, they began to emphasize secular education. By the end of the nineteenth century, emphasis on secular education distinguished the private elementary schools from the catechism schools.

Filipinos also established Latinities, the private secondary schools, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, which were duplicates of the first two years of Spanish secondary schools. They were made possible by the Educational Decree of 1863 which permitted the first two years of secondary education under private, certified instructors. However, in order to qualify for a degree, the Latinity graduates had to finish their education in one of the recognized Spanish secondary schools and to pass an examination administered by the University of Santo Tomas.

European-born Spaniards despised the Philippine-born Spaniards, they both despised the mestizos, and all three looked down upon the Filipinos. To combat Spanish racism, the Filipinos sought an education identical or superior to that for the Spaniards. They found the catechism schools inadequate and started private schools on the pattern of Spanish academic institutions.[28]

For the majority of Filipinos, prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, education was mainly a process of Christianization by the priests. All instruction was in local dialects. Children were taught to recite the catechism from memory, make their confessions, and

receive communion. Talented boys were taught some Spanish, and many of them became clerks, printers, and government servants.

During the Spanish rule, formal academic education was available primarily to children of the Spaniards. Emphasis at all levels was given to literary and religious training. A limited number of secondary and higher educational institutions were founded by the Spanish colonial government. Most schools beyond the primary level were privately managed and had religious affiliation, a characteristic that has survived to-date. Spanish was the language of instruction at all levels, and discipline was strict.

Under the American colonial administration, a centralized system of public education was introduced at the primary level. The language of instruction was changed to English, and religious instruction became optional. Teacher training and vocational training programs were introduced. Secondary and higher education remained largely under private management.

After the World War II, various efforts were made to expand education. One of the most innovative schemes was the Barrio Education Movement, which was a self-help program to start schools in the rural areas.[29]

The martial law was declared in 1972. In the same year, the Government enacted the Educational Development Decree which specified extensive reforms in the philosophical, curricular, moral, pedagogical, and administrative structure of the educational system.[30] Other policy changes announced in the early 1970's included the use of Pilipino and English as languages of instruction at all levels in specific subject areas, and the use of Arabic as a language of instruction in the areas

which have concentration of Muslim population.[31] The impact of English as the language of instruction has been enormous. It is the universal language of government, commerce, mass communication, and education, and is spoken by about 45 percent of the people, second only to Pilipino, the official national language of the country, spoken by about 55 percent of the people.[32]

Educational institutions in the Philippines are classified into public and private schools. Public schools are financed and operated by the national, provincial, and local governments while private schools are operated by religious organizations (sectarian schools), and private corporations (proprietary schools). Only a few of these private proprietary schools are nonprofit institutions. Most of them are owned by stockholders and operated for profit.

Both public and private schools offer three levels of schooling: elementary, secondary, and collegiate. Elementary education covers six years - four years of primary and two years of intermediate education. There are, however, a few private schools that require three years of intermediate education. The secondary education consists of a four-year program offering different combinations of general and vocational training. The three major types of institutions are general high schools, barrio high schools, and vocational high schools. The general high schools offer two years of general education followed by two years of college preparatory or vocational program. Barrio (barangay) high schools are "self-help, help-others" non-profit educational innovations started in 1965 in rural areas. Their curriculum consists of integrated academic and vocational subjects. They provide education to all the children of all the people, especially those living in the most remote

barrios, at little or no extra cost to the Government. They provide them with the kind and quality of education most relevant to their needs. Finally, they give the learners work to do to earn their tuition fees and thereby help them finance their education. By 1977, there were about 2,000 barrio high schools established in all parts of the country, in every province and in most cities, with a total enrolment of about one-third of a million students.[33] Vocational high schools provide work skills and offer terminal programs for students to enter labor force. They include industrial, agricultural, fishery, and technical high schools. In 1963, the national comprehensive high schools were started in different parts of the country. They provide highly enriched and varied curriculum offerings.

Institutions of higher education offer programs ranging from liberal arts education to law and medicine. Almost one-half of them are concentrated in Manila area. Most institutions of secondary and post-secondary education are privately managed. Approximately 92 percent of the elementary school children enrol in the public schools, while 65 percent of the secondary and 92 percent of the collegiate students enrol in the private institutions.[34]

The Department of Education and Culture controls, regulates, and supervises both public and private education in the country. Board of National Education is the highest policy-making body. The Department, operating through its various divisions and bureaus, implements the policies of the Board.[35]

Accreditation, effective regulation, and bilingualism are the three most pressing issues facing education in the country. Other problems include over-production of college graduates, educated

unemployed,[36] imbalance between training of college graduates and man-power needs, large number of unaccredited proprietary institutions, over-concentration of students and educational institutions in the Manila area, questionable standards at some institutions, and student activism.[37]

The Philippine Government is making determined efforts to upgrade the quality of education at all levels through such measures as employing National College Entrance Examination and Philippine Aptitude Classification Test, establishing quality control in education, making education socially and nationally relevant, eliminating private educational institutions of questionable quality, locating colleges and universities in the provinces, promoting Pilipino, the national language, stimulating voluntary accreditation, discouraging use of private educational institutions for profit-making, and instilling the spirit of Filipinization.[38]

One of the tasks of the Philippine Governemnt is to integrate the minorities educationally and culturally. The efforts have been fairly successful so far as the Igorots and other primitive groups are concerned. But the Chinese and the Muslims are determined to resist assimilation. In order to perpetuate their culture, the Chinese have placed strong emphasis on educating their children in their own schools. Already in existence in the closing decades of the Spanish colonial period, there were, by 1975, about 160 Chinese elementary and secondary schools with about 70,000 students and about 4,000 teachers. The schools have two curricula: one is based on the standard course in the Philippine public schools and the other stresses Chinese language and culture. The primary purpose of the Chinese school system is to keep the child

Chinese and thus impede the assimilation process. "The admitted ideal of the schools maintained by the Chinese community for its own children is to form good Chinese citizens and good Philippine residents."[39]

The Chinese schools vary greatly in size and quality. In small towns, they may be nothing more than one-room one-teacher institutions, imparting instruction in the Chinese language after the students are free from attending the regular public schools. Others, such as those in Manila, may have as many as 3,000 students, regular curriculum, and modern facilities. After the World War II, the Chinese schools had adopted the Taiwanese curriculum and were supervised directly by the Taiwanese educational authorities. However, as a consequence of the revelation of communist infiltration in some Chinese schools, the Philippine Government asserted its authority to supervise and control the Chinese schools.[40]

Today, the Department of Education and Culture, through its Bureau of private schools, directly supervises and controls the Chinese schools, although they are largely left alone in the implementation of their Chinese language curriculum. The atmosphere in many schools (conversation, values, festivals, and rituals) is almost entirely Chinese. Therefore, their periodic affirmation of their loyalty to the Philippines is not likely to convince even the most casual observer of their sincerety, and suspicion of their anti-national attitude, if not subversion, persists until this day. The Chinese schools serve more to reinforce Chinese identity than to foster identification with Filipinos.[41]

Despite the overt official anti-communist stance of the Chinese schools, concern over their political role remains serious. This has been accentuated by the resurgent radical left in the Philippines

(including the domestic Chinese segment) and the emergent Peoples Republic of China. As a result of these developments, the conflicts of political appeals and loyalties among the Philippine Chinese have been greatly intensified.

Another minority that is continuously waging war against the Republic of the Philippines and the Filipino culture is the Muslim population of the south. The cultural and religious animosity which the Spaniards engendered in the minds of the Muslims under their policy of "divide and rule" has progressively deepened. When the Americans introduced a universal system of primary education, most Muslims refused to send their children to school because of the fear they might be converted to Christianity. When the American authorities offered scholarships, the result was the same. Likewise, their response to the educational programs of the Republic of the Philippine Government has been negative. Consequently, the Muslim Filipinos with low standard of living, poor health and sanitation, and high rate of illiteracy, have scarcely improved, and are not in the mainstream of the national life.

Muslim Filipinos draw their cultural, religious, and educational inspiration from fellow Muslims in other parts of the world. The resurgence of Islam in other countries after the World War II has had a profound effect upon Islam in the Philippines. New mosques have been built in Muslim areas, and additional religious schools have been started. The teaching of the Quran, the Arabic language, and the principles of Muslim morality have been intensified. Some teachers are sent to Egypt and Saudi Arabia to study religion, and some are imported from those countries. Pilgrimages to Mecca have become more common and religious and cultural bonds with the Muslim countries more firm. Religious

literature is published in larger quantities and is widely distributed. Many Islamic societies for social and religious purposes have been established, and they strengthen the bond of solidarity among the Muslims.

Conclusion

The Philippines is in a very unenviable position and its unity as a nation is at stake. Of the three minority groups, only the aborigines have registered any progress toward integration into the Filipino society. The Chinese, through their business organizations, fraternal associations, family ties, and schools, continue to maintain their exclusiveness and resist assimilation into the Filipino culture, with questionable evidence of their loyalty to the Philippines. They, by and large, find the emergence of the Peoples Republic of China as a dominant power of the region quite comforting. Another group, that cuts across the ethnic lines and which is held together by the common ideology of communism, draws its membership from the Philippine academic circles as well as the domestic segment of the Chinese population. This group is engaged in ceaseless subversive activities with the avowed purpose of establishing a communist government. The members of this group undoubtedly receive moral and material support from the Peoples Republic of China located so conveniently close to the Philippines. The Muslim Filipinos, on the other hand, form a culturally and religiously alienated group, who are determined to carve out a sovereign state from the Philippines for themselves. They defy the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines, are engaged in rebellion, and receive moral and material support from the Islamic countries of the world. They suspect the educational efforts of the Philippine Government as

designs to obliterate their identity, organize religious and educatio al activities to foster their own culture, and are opposed to integratio. with the Christian Filipinos. Thus, the external factors not only continue to hamper the process of integra_ion, but have unleashed forces of disstabilization in the country, which led to the imposition of the martial law in 1972 and its reaffirmation in 1977. Under these circumstances, the odds are against education serving as an instrument for integrating the Chinese and the Mu_lim minorities into the Filipino society.

FOOTNOTES

[1]William H. Scott, "The Igorot: An Integrated Cultural Minority," Philippine Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 4 (October, 1972), pp. 356-360.

[2]D. Stanley Eitzen, "Two Minorities: The Jews of Poland and the Chinese of the Philippines," The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10, No. 2 (December, 1968), pp. 222-223.

[3]Bernard C. Go, "The Chinese in the Philippines: Facts and Fancies," Philippine Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 4 (October, 1972), pp. 396-397.

[4]D. Stanley Eitzen, op.cit., p. 231.

[5]Rodney Tasker, "Where Guerillas Call the Tune," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 101, No. 32 (August, 1978), pp.22-24.

[6]Justus M. van der Kroef, "Philippine Communism and the Chinese," The China Quarterly, No. 30 (April-June, 1967), pp. 115-123.

[7]Quirico S. Samonte," Student Activism and National Development: The Philippine Setting," Journal of Educational Thought, Vol 4, No. 3 (December, 1970), pp. 161-173.

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[8]George H. Weightman, "The Philippine-Chinese Image of the Filipino," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 40, No. 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1967-1968), pp. 315-317.

[9]Ibid., pp. 320-321.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Bernard Wideman, "Conflict in Chinatown," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 92, No. 23 (June 4, 1976), pp. 24-26.

[12]"A New Move in the Philippines," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 87, No. 12 (March 12, 1975), p. 29.

[13]Peter Bathurst, "Binding the Minority with Red Tape," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 88, No. 20 (May 16, 1975), pp. 20-41.

[14]Joseph P.L. Jiang, "The Chinese and the Philippine Political Process," Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 13 (August, 1963), pp. 194-195.

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Nelly Sindayen, "Manila Flies the Flag of Unity," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 100, No. 24 (June 16, 1978), pp. 23-24.

[15]Joseph P.L. Jiang, op. cit., pp. 195-199.

[16]Justus M. van der Kroef, op.cit., p. 131.

[17]Bernard C. Go, op. cit., pp. 395-396.

[18]Nena Vreeland and Others, Area Handbook for the Philippines, second edition, Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, p. 94.

[19]Rodney Tasker, "Come On, Be Filipinos," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol 98, No. 40 (October 7, 1977), p. 83.

[20]Rodney Tasker, "The Legacy of Strife," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol 95, No. 2 (January 14, 1977), p. 21.

[21]Mohammed Fatthy Mahmoud,"The Muslim Problems and the Government's Response," Philippine Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 18 (July, 1974), pp. 221-223.

[22]Federico V. Magdalena, "Inter-group Conflict in the Southern Philippines: an Empirical Analysis," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1977), pp. 299-313.

[23]Rodney Tasker, "A Butterfly in the Oily Spider's Web," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 99, No. 1 (January 6, 1978), pp. 41-42.

[24]Rodney Tasker, "The Moro Rebellion: Who Calls the Shots?" Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 95, No. 2 (January 14, 1977), pp. 18-20.

[25]Rodney Tasker, "Peace Pact: Christians Concerned," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 95, No. 6 (February 11, 1977), pp. 13-14.

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[39]D. Stanley Eitzen, op. cit., p. 230.

[40]Justus M. van der Kroef, op. cit., pp. 132-134.

[41]Bernard C. Go, op. cit., pp. 392-394.

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